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SUMMARY RECORD OF THE SECOND PART (PUBLIC)*
OF THE 60th MEETING

Held at the Palais des Nations, Geneva,
on Monday, 7 March 1994, at 7 p.m.

Chairman: Mr. URRUTIA (Peru)

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QUESTION OF THE VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS IN ANY PART OF THE WORLD, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO COLONIAL AND OTHER DEPENDENT COUNTRIES AND TERRITORIES, INCLUDING:

(a) THE QUESTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CYPRUS

(agenda item 12) (continued) (E/CN.4/1994/3-6, 7 and Corr.1 and Add.1-2, 8, 46-61, 97, 102-104, 110, 115, 119, 120, 122 and 123; E/CN.4/1994/NGO/7, 9, 12-15, 22-24, 26, 28, 29, 37, 40, 42-44, A/48/526 and Add.1, 561, 562, 578, 584, 600 and Add.1, 601)

1. Mrs. MALUA (Malawi), referring to the report of the Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions (E/CN.4/1994/7), said that her delegation wished to place on record that most of the information contained in the report represented the situation as it had been prior to the national referendum of 14 June 1993.

2. She was pleased to inform the Commission that positive action had been taken by the Government since then, including the enacting of the General Amnesty Act granting an amnesty to all political and religious exiles, the amending of the Preservation of Public Security Act so as to remove all provisions relating to detention without trial, the repeal of the Forfeiture Act, the review of the jurisdiction of the traditional court system, whereby serious offences could now only be tried by the High Court, and the amendment of laws restricting freedom of expression and the press. The above were only a few of the legal and other reforms currently taking place in Malawi.

3. Her delegation wished to reassure the Commission that the Government and people of Malawi were committed to democracy and were peacefully programming the holding of general and presidential elections on 17 May 1994. Malawi had every confidence that the international community would assist her wholeheartedly in ensuring that the process taking place was not jeopardized.

4. Mr. PORTALES (Chile) referred to the very negative effect that the revision of the traditional notion that it was States which observed or violated human rights would have on the international system for the protection of those rights. Some Governments and non-governmental organizations had tended in recent times to take the view that groups of individuals could, in the same way as States, violate fundamental human rights.

5. If human rights were to be valid in a society, its members must be aware of them and integrate them into its rules and institutions; the basic aim of laws regulating the social order should be to promote and guarantee the exercise of human rights, while the authorities implementing the laws should be imbued with their spirit. Those whose task was to punish transgressors should then be concerned with defending the individual's exercise of his human rights. That meant that politically organized within the State society was the key factor in the observance or violation of human rights since the State was the basic entity for the political mediation of the members of society.

6. A democratic State ensured observance of human rights through legislative, executive and judicial activities; respect for or violation of

those rights were therefore social and political acts which went beyond the responsibilities of the individuals performing them. Thus, the killing of a detainee by a policeman was a serious crime which did not in itself constitute a violation of the right to life. Such a violation would involve additional factors, for example, an express order from the official's superiors in the context of a policy of State terrorism, or government complicity or negligence to ensure the impunity of the official although the Judiciary might endeavour to investigate and punish the act and although the motive for the offence might not be political. Such a violation of the right to life was defined by its institutional nature, whether in the planning of the offence, in its execution or in its subsequent concealment, clarifying the basic difference between the concept of "offence" and "human rights violations".

7. The observance of or violation of human rights also had an institutional aspect, not only from the point of view of the individual concerned but also from that of those who benefited from their observance or suffered from their violation. When the State endeavoured to ensure that no harm came to the property of a person as a result of an offence committed by a third party, it was generating a situation of respect for human rights, valid for society as a whole; conversely, when the rights of an individual were adversely affected by the State, it generated a situation of human rights violation, valid for society as a whole. Respect for the human rights of the individual would be affected if the number of offences exceeded the State's capacity to prevent or punish them, but in that case the State would itself commit a violation by failing to fulfil its basic duty of guaranteeing the safety of its citizens.

8. It was the State's claims with regard to respect for human rights which made it possible to sign international treaties for the protection of human rights and to establish the treaty monitoring bodies. If that concept were modified and it was accepted that human rights could be violated both by States and by individuals or organized groups within a society, the entire international human rights system would be called into question or become meaningless. There would be an absurd situation whereby the system, if it wished to retain its objectivity, would be obliged to concern itself not only with complaints against States but also human rights violations committed by individuals or groups, and in so doing become involved in matters whose investigation and punishment were the exclusive competence of the domestic legal systems of the countries in question. The situation might arise whereby the United Nations might even appoint special rapporteurs to investigate human rights violations committed in certain countries by large criminal groups such as terrorists or drug traffickers. It should, however, be borne in mind that when a subversive group became a political authority with territory under its jurisdiction, it also acquired responsibility for the effective exercise of the human rights of the population under its authority, in which case the international community could legitimately monitor the situation.

9. His delegation therefore called on the United Nations system to preserve the institutional sense of the concept of the observance or violation of human rights so as to avoid a distortion which might have disastrous effects on the international system for the protection of human rights.

10. Mr. FLINTERMAN (Netherlands) said that the question of the impunity of perpetrations of human rights violation was a phenomenon that was manifesting

itself worldwide. There could, however, be no rule of law where impunity persisted. Further, it was the primary responsibility of Governments to tackle the problem and to come up with genuine solutions. It was up to the international community and in particular the Commission to assess the value of the measures adopted to fight impunity. The issue of impunity was addressed in the reports of several of the special country rapporteurs, as well as in those of the thematic rapporteurs and working groups; all those documents bore testimony to the fact that impunity stood in the way of an effective elimination of large-scale systematic and gross human rights violations by government authorities or agents.

11. Since national action did not appear to suffice, international involvement in the elimination of impunity was legitimate under the Charter of the United Nations and existing international human rights treaties and was considered to be a problem to be addressed through United Nations mechanisms. The involvement of the United Nations lay mainly in the field of jurisdiction, for example, by establishing the obligation of States to investigate allegations of human rights violations, to bring the perpetrators to justice and to adopt preventive measures. It also involved urging States to refrain from taking special measures, such as amnesties on behalf of such perpetrators.

12. However, considering the delicate and complicated task facing new Governments, that approach was not a panacea. The new officials in young democracies had suffered under the previous regime and had advocated the punishment of the former authorities for human rights violations. Once in power themselves they found that their quest for justice was subordinated to establishing and keeping law and order. To do so, they depended to a large extent on the old framework of society. They faced the contradictions between the need for justice, the preservation of collective memory and the political constraints of conciliation. In order to lend credibility to the rule of law, the new rulers needed to bring the offenders to justice, but very often they were precisely the people depended on for maintaining the public order needed to uphold the rule of law. Support by the international community could help to overcome the dilemma.

13. Although the systems incorporating patterns of human rights violations could be redressed, the sufferings such violations had caused could not. It was clear that the question of impunity should not only be dealt with from the point of view of doing justice, but also from the perspective of the victim and society at large, in the direction of national conciliation. In his final report (E/CN.4/Sub.2/1993/8) to the Sub-Commission Mr. van Boven had stressed the importance of the revelation of the truth as the first requirement of justice and of reparation and guarantees of non-repetition for victims of gross violations of human rights.

14. In their interim report (E/CN.4/Sub.2/1993/6) on impunity to the Sub-Commission, Mr. Guissé and Mr. Joinet had touched on the importance of non-governmental organizations in combating impunity, in that they provided the means for the victims to organize themselves and voice their grievances, could pressure Government into action in the investigation of alleged violations, and could be valuable allies of new democratic Governments in coming to terms with the legacy of former regimes. They could help new

Governments to deal with pressure from the former authorities to escape justice. However, that role did not detract from the primary responsibility of the Government itself.

15. The question of impunity must be dealt with on the basis of a comprehensive system of guidelines which did justice to the victims and at the same time left intact conditions for the establishment of a civil society under the rule of law. His delegation would continue to support all efforts to eradicate impunity.

16. Mr. MEGHLAOUI (Observer for Algeria) said that on 29 July 1993 the Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions had drawn his Government's attention to allegations which had been brought to his knowledge. The Algerian Government had replied, specifying that its answer should not be construed as implying any recognition of the allegations which could not be described as extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions: they concerned persons who had been tried and sentenced for crimes committed prior to the promulgation of the Subversion and Terrorism Act of 30 September 1992. The promulgation of that Act had been made necessary by Algeria's current difficult security situation. His Government's initial reply to the Special Rapporteur, clarifying how the Special Courts worked, had also been concerned to appease the understandable misgivings which the promulgation of emergency legislation automatically aroused in defenders of human rights. The Government had further invited the Special Rapporteur to visit Algeria in order to investigate the activities of the Special Courts. The Special Rapporteur had met a delegation of legal experts from Algeria and he had been provided with detailed documentation on the implementation of the Subversion and Terrorism Act and the working of the Special Courts.

17. In order to clarify the situation, his delegation wished to specify that there were no courts of special jurisdiction in Algeria; the Special Courts instituted by the Subversion and Terrorism Act of 1992 were courts of general jurisdiction specializing in cases of terrorism - a practice which was not specific to Algeria. The Special Courts comprised professional magistrates exclusively; the Constitution embodied the principle of the independence of the judiciary. The basic principle of their operation was that the Code of Criminal Procedure applied to offences coming within the jurisdiction of the special courts with the exception of some adjustments under the Subversion and Terrorism Act, none of which were detrimental to the rights of the defence.

18. Under the Subversion and Terrorism Act, persons charged could be assisted by one or more lawyers of their choice. During investigation, the three traditional phases of criminal procedure were respected. The presiding judge had no prerogatives other than those relating to the smooth running of the trial. Hearings were public and open to journalists from the national and international press and decisions were handed down publicly. Like decisions handed down by the criminal courts, they could be reviewed by cassation by the Supreme Court as provided for in the Code of Criminal Procedure. Generally speaking, all the normal remedies were available to defendants in the Special Courts at any stage of the proceedings. In accordance with the provisions of the Constitution and the law, if all remedies had been exhausted, anyone under a death sentence could appeal to the Head of State for pardon. The death penalty was only carried out if that appeal were rejected and could not be

carried out on a person who was seriously ill or insane, a pregnant woman or mother of a young child. No minor had been sentenced to death in Algeria.

19. The Subversion and Terrorism Act had encouraged repentance. It had made provision for considerable reductions in sentences including the death penalty, for those who ceased all terrorist activity. The Algerian Government considered that a death sentence could only be imposed for the most serious crimes; that was why the special courts could impose it for terrorist crimes. The Government also considered that death sentences should not be carried out on persons under 18 years of age since Algeria's cultural and emotional environment would not permit it. No minor had been executed in Algeria since independence.

20. Algeria was engaged in the immense task of constructing a modern and liberal society open to progress while still conserving its ancestral values. States in that position were confronted with difficulties on which political extremism flourished and their situation was complex; any examination of it must be based on what it was actually experiencing and not on a general formula. Cooperation was needed to promote and protect human rights with patience, understanding and dialogue and not denunciations and accusations. Allegations of human rights violations had currently become a means of defence often used by persons who wished to escape the rigour of the law. His delegation believed that care should be taken to ensure that genuine human rights organizations did not allow themselves to be used and did not become part of the strategy employed by terrorists. Some reports tended to use terms like "armed groups" or "armed opposition" to refer to terrorists, which could be interpreted as a first step towards legalizing their acts. A terrorist could not be described as anything else without insulting his victims' memory.

21. The Algerian Government had resolved to banish violence as a form of political expression or of access to power and had chosen to deal with the difficult situation currently existing in the country through dialogue. It was determined to take advantage of the period of transition to bring into being the political conditions to ensure a return to a democratic electoral process. The Special Rapporteur had appealed to Governments to reform their anti-terrorist legislation. The desire of the Government of Algeria was not to reform it but to repeal it and it hoped for the encouragement of all who were genuinely concerned with human rights.

22. Mr. AKRAM (Pakistan) said that the gravest violations of human rights in the course of history had occurred as a result of foreign military intervention, occupation and the denial of the rights of peoples to self-determination. The Government of Pakistan had welcomed the establishment of the Mujahedin Government in Afghanistan after a long struggle against foreign intervention and had made every effort to secure the release of prisoners of war from the CIS States.

23. Pakistan had provided shelter to more than 3 million Afghans for almost 15 years at tremendous social, economic and ecological cost; one and a half million Afghan refugees remained in Pakistan. Despite its own economic difficulties, Pakistan continued to provide humanitarian assistance to Afghanistan where it had made energetic efforts to halt the fighting and to help the parties to embark on a process of political reconciliation and peace.

24. His Government was deeply concerned about the situation of human rights in the occupied Arab territories. The massacre in Hebron on 26 February had been a consequence of the policy of maintaining Israeli settlements there, not only in defiance of the resolutions of the Security Council but also of common sense. Pakistan hoped that a final settlement would conform to the provisions of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1974) and respond to the legitimate rights and aspirations of the Palestinian people.

25. With regard to the Cyprus question, Pakistan supported Security Council resolution 649 (1990) which, inter alia, provided for the establishment of a bizonal, bicommunal federation and hoped that the proximity talks under the aegis of the Secretary-General would produce positive results.

26. In view of the extremely grave situation prevailing in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo, the member countries of the Organization of the Islamic Conference had decided to table separate resolutions on those two subjects to complement the omnibus resolution of the United States delegation on the situation in the former Yugoslavia. The Pakistan delegation also supported the initiative of the Malaysian delegation which had tabled a resolution on the question of rape and abuse of women in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

27. Religious intolerance had reached new dimensions of gravity in recent times and in Bosnia and Herzegovina ethnic cleansing had become a euphemism for religious cleansing. His Government was gratified that the World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna in 1993 had devoted a significant part of its Declaration and Programme of Action to the problem of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and other forms of intolerance. The world community needed to turn its attention to racist practices in certain countries which were divided into castes determined on the basis of birth, a practice which amounted to multiple apartheid needed to be honestly addressed.

Statements in exercise of the right of reply

28. Mr. do AMARAL (Indonesia) said that the statement by a self-proclaimed eye-witness speaking under the umbrella of the Movement against Racism and for Friendship among Peoples regarding a second massacre in Dili, East Timor, could not go unchallenged. There were credible eye-witnesses in East Timor, including the former governor, who had been personally involved in helping injured demonstrators immediately after the Santa Cruz incident; in the event of a massacre, the governor would have raised the issue. It might also be wondered why the problem had not been reported in the national and international media. The facts further indicated that the population of Dili were not aware of the so-called "second massacre"; had it happened, it would also have led to an international outcry back in 1991 and 1992.

29. He wished to ask why the persons who claimed to be eye-witnesses had only mentioned the "second massacre" recently and just before the fiftieth session of the Commission on Human Rights, three years after the alleged event.

30. He wished to inform the Commission, and in particular non-governmental organizations which claimed to be interested, that the truth was that the people of East Timor aspired to a peaceful and harmonious life in the fold of

the Republic of Indonesia. The international community should help the people of East Timor by refraining from instigating hatred among them.

31. Mr. CUESTAS (Observer for Guatemala) said that the only contribution of certain non-governmental organizations to the work of the Commission was to present a distorted image of the situation in the countries represented in the Commission in referring only to civil and political rights and omitting economic, social and cultural rights; they were nevertheless all interdependent.

32. Guatemalans believed in democracy and government with the consent of the majority of the people. The basic features of democracy should be a legitimate mandate from the people, their genuine consent to be governed and their effective participation. Although democracy represented challenges and risks for nations its advantages included the guarantee of individual political, economic, social and cultural rights.

33. His Government was transforming Guatemala into a vigorous and forward-looking democracy in accordance with human rights standards in order to construct a socially progressive and politically stable country. While his delegation welcomed contributions to the work of the Commission by non-governmental organizations which were genuinely concerned with the implementation of human rights in the world, it could not accept the distorted image of the situation in Guatemala presented by other organizations.

34. As the members of the Commission were aware, Guatemala had made serious efforts in the sphere of human rights. In that context, the President of Guatemala had replaced several ministers of his Government and a public investigation was being conducted into a crime committed by a politician of his own party.

35. Mr. ALKADHI (Observer for Iraq) said that the representative of the United States, speaking earlier that day, had described the blockade against Iraq as a means of allowing the people of Iraq to breathe and progress. He asked how the United States, as the only State to maintain the embargo against Iraq, could imagine anything of the sort. The embargo was having catastrophic consequences and it was the United States which bore the basic responsibility for the fate of Iraq's women and children. The United States was the last nation which should be talking about human rights; Iraq could point to flagrant human rights violations by the United States throughout the world.

36. The statement by the United States delegation, claiming that Iraq sheltered an Iranian terrorist organization was unfounded

37. The claims made by the representative of the Al-Sabah family were a political masquerade to win the sympathy of international public opinion and maintain the blockade against Iraq but had no basis in fact, since Iraq had, in fact, cooperated with ICRC and the Arab League and had proved that there were no prisoners or missing persons in the country.

38. Mr. ZAHRAN (Observer for Egypt) said that his delegation had been surprised at the reference in the report (E/CN.4/1994/7) of the Special

Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions to allegations that death sentences had been carried out in Egypt on minors under 18 years of age; there had been no executions of that type in Egypt.

39. The death sentence was subject to all the guarantees of the law. Egypt permitted military courts to judge certain crimes, but their decisions were only executed when all remedies were exhausted. The cases in question concerned terrorists who had committed human rights violations, particularly against the right to life. The Egyptian courts had always applied Egyptian laws in accordance with international human rights agreements, guaranteeing the right of defence and the rights of all innocent parties and punishing those who threatened society and the rights of the individual. The death penalty was restricted to serious crime, although increased terrorist activities in recent times had led Egypt to take the necessary measures to protect society. All death sentences were carried out in the context of the law and could not be described as summary or arbitrary.

40. Mr. MEGHLAOUI (Observer for Algeria) recalled that the Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions had stated that Algeria was one of the countries where minors under 18 years of age were sentenced to death and even executed. Although his delegation had discussed the matter personally with the Special Rapporteur and had received a letter from him admitting his mistake, it regretted to have to say that a mere letter could not erase the harm caused to the Government and people of Algeria, and requested reparation for the "mistake" made before the Commission on Human Rights.

41. He drew the attention of the 42 sponsors of draft resolution E/CN.4/1994/L.95 to the paragraph concerning the Special Rapporteur's report (E/CN.4/1994/7/Add.1 and 2 and Corr.1). His delegation requested that the name of Algeria should be removed from the list of countries which sentenced or executed minors under 18 years of age, that document E/CN.4/1994/7/Add.1 and 2 and Corr.2 should be issued, and that draft resolution E/CN.4/1994/L.95 should be amended accordingly.

42. Mr. PEREZ NOVOA (Cuba) said that when the representative of the United States had expressed his Government's concern for human rights violations throughout the world, he had omitted to include his own country with its systematic policy of racial discrimination and its interminable list of human rights violations. Cuba would resist the imposition of models which did not satisfy its needs. It would resist losing its independence and sovereignty and the social and political achievements of the past 35 years during which it had set foot on the road to true democracy and led the vanguard in Latin America. Freedom of expression was the right of all Cuban citizens and the country itself was the expression of freedom that resulted from the genuine exercise of self-determination.

43. The documents and reports submitted to the Commission gave ample evidence of Cuba's cooperation with United Nations human rights procedure although that did not mean that Cuba would cooperate with a special rapporteur imposed by force on the Commission by the United States.

44. His delegation was of the opinion that the Russian Government had little to teach Cuba about human rights after bombing its own Parliament and creating the conditions for violations of the economic and social rights and fundamental freedoms of the Russian people.

45. He suggested that it would also be in the interest of the Government of Switzerland to take vigorous action to eliminate practices related to the sale of children, pornography and child prostitution, in full cooperation with the human rights system of the United Nations.

46. Mr. AL-SALLAL (Observer for Kuwait) said that the representative of Iraq had claimed that his Government had proved that it held no Kuwaiti prisoners; his own Government would like to know to whom that proof had been demonstrated. A tripartite commission of the International Committee of the Red Cross, Kuwait and Iraq effectively existed, but Iraq continued to refuse to attend. His delegation had submitted hundreds of documented files proving that prisoners were indeed held by Iraq but no reply had been received from that country. His Government considered that Iraq had eliminated its prisoners or was keeping them as hostages for political bargaining, both of which activities were war crimes.

47. Members of the Commission would have noticed that the representative of Iraq had not mentioned his country by name in contradiction of the Security Council resolution which laid down that Iraq must recognize Kuwait was a member of the United Nations.

48. Mr. ZHANG Yishan (China) said that the western countries, including the European Union and Sweden, had criticized human rights in some 140 or 150 developing countries but had failed to mention their own numerous human rights problems, as was typical of their policy of double standards.

49. The western countries used human rights to exercise political pressure on other countries, including China; they were not familiar with the situation in China and based themselves on rumours. Their attacks could not, however, affect China and could not cancel out what it had achieved. The Government of China had long pursued a policy of allowing its people to enjoy human rights with excellent results. China was often accused of being anti-democratic; democracy was not the same as in Europe but its pursuit was China's constant objective. Prior to the Republic, radical or gradual changes and reforms had been attempted with western democracy as the model; the result had been that the people had become impoverished and the country endangered. Before the creation of the new China, the people had not been able to fulfil their destiny or take decisions on their social system. The western countries would like to use human rights to change the choices the Chinese had made but they would be disappointed.

50. Where Tibet was concerned, it had been part of China for more than 100 years and would continue to be an integral part of that country.

51. Mr. MOTAGHI-NETAD (Islamic Republic of Iran) said that human rights were universal by nature and their violation by all countries, including those of the west, should be dealt with on an equal footing; the western world was clearly accountable for persistent violations of human rights throughout the

world. The measures taken by the European Union to curb racist sentiments among western youth and its indignation over the Hebron massacre which ignored that its root cause lay in the Jewish settlements in the occupied territories, constituted an attempt to whitewash its systematic violations in the past. If the real intention of the west, in investigating human rights violations, included the protection of the rights of Iranian citizens, the question must be addressed in all its aspects, including the massacre of thousands of Iranians by the chemical weapons shipped by the west to the aggressor's territory.

52. The right to hold a religion sacred was enshrined in the international human rights instruments. The Organization of the Islamic Conference considered that Salman Rushdie's The Satanic Verses transgressed all norms of decency and should be condemned under article 19 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

53. All religious minorities in his country enjoyed equal political, economic, social and cultural rights with Muslims. They had reserved seats in the Islamic Consultative Assembly and their own publications, cultural programmes and religious places. Recent statistics with regard to freedom of expression, showed that more than 467 weekly and other publications on a variety of subjects were published in the Islamic Republic of Iran.

54. Mr. KPOTSRA (Togo) said that it was regrettable that the Commission's consideration of agenda item 12 had once again given rise to the ritual listing of countries where gross violations of human rights were alleged to occur. It was particularly ironic that the Russian Federation was one of the countries which had referred to Togo in that context. The Russian Federation could hardly be cited as a model of respect for human rights, given the ill-treatment constantly meted out to black African students in that country. His delegation suggested that nations which wished to give lessons to others should first ensure that their own hands were clean.

55. Mr. NGUYEN LUONG (Observer for Viet Nam), said that his country's position on human rights had already been clearly spelled out in the statement to the Commission by the Deputy Minister of Justice on 18 February 1994.

56. Viet Nam had for eight years followed a policy known as doi moi; it was not merely one of economic revival but a comprehensive process designed to strengthen the enjoyment of human rights for all Vietnamese within a State where the rule of law prevailed. The results of the policy of doi moi had improved human rights for the Vietnamese people and had shown that independence and stability were essential conditions for the protection and promotion of human rights. Eight years of doi moi, however, had not been sufficient to overcome the effects of several decades of war. That was why, parallel with the efforts being made in Viet Nam, his Government continued to strengthen its international cooperation and welcomed all sincere and constructive contributions.

57. Mr. BENHIMA (Morocco) said that his delegation was concerned to correct allegations by some non-governmental organizations about the human rights situation in Morocco, allegations which could only bring discredit on them; it had constantly had to correct their inaccuracies and counter their

disparagement of positive developments. Those organizations tended to disregard the reality of the referendum process and Morocco's willingness to settle the differences arising among the parties engaged in it. They also failed to bear in mind Security Council resolution 725 (1991) which had specified the criteria to identify individuals empowered to take part in the referendum; it should be recalled that thousands of Saharans had been deliberately excluded from the census organized by Spain in 1974. It was regrettable that the NGOs should deliberately allow themselves to be used in the campaigns organized by the Frente Polisario. Any claim to denounce abuses required objectivity and an accurate knowledge of the cases. His Government had never denied the essential role of the NGOs and continued to make known its willingness to engage in constructive dialogue with those of them which were prepared to be responsible and objective.

The meeting rose at midnight.